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## RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUP MEMBERSHIP AND THE RETENTION OF SELECTED FACTS PERTAINING TO AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Lucille Gustafson

Each of us operates from his own specific frame of reference, an accumulation of attitudes created by past experiences, needs, and group memberships. These tend to determine what we perceive, experience, and remember. Those who sit before us as students, likewise, come equipped with such attitudinal "sets" in good working order. The investigation to be described purported to discover if ethnic group membership acted as one such affective factor in the retention of selected facts pertaining to American history and culture. The working hypothesis was that there is, indeed, a relationship between ethnic group membership and such retention, recognizable by the appearance of significant bias in retention scores. It was further hypothesized that these differences would increase with the lapse of time.

Three specific groups in Akron, Ohio, were involved in the study, the dominant culture and two ethnic groups, namely, the Jewish and Negro, all being American. The dominant culture group was considered to be that which is gentile, white, and of North European extraction. By definition, ethnic groups are communities of minority peoples bound together by common ties of race, nationality, religion, or culture living with other culture groups, but remaining distinct. Caroline F. Ware<sup>1</sup> cites Jewish and Negro Americans as examples of such groups in the United States. Given three culture groups, there were nine different relationships to be analyzed.

The population in the study was the tenth grade class of four hundred children and the sample was forty-eight students of that class in Akron, Ohio, Buchtel High School. These were grouped into sixteen triads, one from each cultural group, equated as to intelligence,

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<sup>1</sup> "Ethnic Communities," *Encyclopedia of Social Studies*.

sex, and age. Although most of the subjects are of the middle class, this being a school of upper-middle class students, no attempt was made to equate subjects as to social level. Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz in their study of the dynamics of prejudice as exhibited by World War II veterans speak of the universality of ethnic intolerance,<sup>2</sup> not related to social status.

The tenth grade was selected because it is a relatively neutral time area in that the subjects will not have had any formal instruction in American history and culture since the eighth grade and would not receive any until the eleventh and twelfth grades. Moreover, as counselor for that grade level, the investigator had at hand available statistics concerning the students and was alerted to such relevant matters as school conduct of the subjects and interpersonal associations.

To discover if ethnocentrism did indeed exist, the students were asked three questions: With whom do you eat luncheon? With whom do you go to the library? With whom do you like to go to the school movies? Application of the Chi-square test disclosed very significant differences between expected and observed choices among the DA (dominant American) culture group, a difference about eight times as great as that in the case of the JA (Jewish American) group, and, in the case of NA (Negro American) group, a difference even greater.

#### INSTRUMENTS OF THE STUDY

Two instruments were used in the experiment. One is a story concerning the role and contributions of the three selected groups in American history and culture. It tells in simple narrative form of the development and culture of the United States not as the achievement almost alone of white, gentile Americans of North European extraction, but as the joint accomplishment of many peoples. Special emphasis is placed on the three groups on whom attention is focused in this study, namely, the so-called Dominant, Jewish, and Negro Americans. Care is taken not to compare contributions as far as relative merit is concerned, nor is any derogatory comment made about any person or group. All statements are positive and favorable to the persons or groups under discussion. The subject matter varies from early religious leaders to jazz, from supreme court judges to baseball heroes, from the Revolutionary War to matters concerning the most recent conflicts.

The second instrument is a test of ninety questions that is really

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<sup>2</sup> *Dynamics of Prejudice*, Chapter 9.

three integrated short quizzes, each concerning one of the groups under study and each separately checked for reliability and validity. It is based on the story described above. Care was exercised in the writing of the questions not to compare ethnic groups and to have possible choices of best answers within one ethnic group membership.

#### DESIGN OF THE STUDY

The above mentioned test was administered three different times. The first time it acted as a pre-test in order to discover the initial knowledge of the three groups as to selected facts pertaining to respective roles of the same three groups in American history and culture. This was necessary in order that one might not only discover how much is known at a certain specific time, but how much is learned between two established testings as a result of study. This parallels the pre-test that the teachers are apt to present to their students before the introduction of a unit of study. Test results were studied to discover significant differences among mean scores by means of the analysis of variance.

After an interval of three weeks the test was repeated after the subjects had had opportunity to study the aforementioned story for a period of forty minutes, the usual allotment of time for a study period. This parallels the testing by class recitation immediately after study. Again, tests results were studied to discover significant differences among mean scores by means of the analyses of variance, after which adjustments were made for initial differences by the process of covariant analysis.

After an interval of thirty days, the test was administered to the same subjects for the third time to discover relative retention of facts concerning American history in a situation that might correspond to the monthly examination. Again, test results were studied to discover significant differences among mean scores by means of the analysis of variance, after which adjustments were made for initial differences by the process of covariant analysis.

#### FINDINGS OF THE INVESTIGATION

##### *Pre-test*

1. In every instance the Jewish American (JA) subjects tested better than either other group. This means that not only did they pre-test better on the Jewish American test but also on the Dominant American (DA) and Negro (NA) test.

This difference was significant at the .02 level or confidence in terms of the DA vs. JA and the JA vs. NA groups. when

the subjects were being tested concerning facts related to the Jewish American role in American history.

This difference was significant at the .01 level of confidence in terms of the DA vs. JA groups when the subjects were being tested concerning facts related to Negro Americans' role in American history and culture.

2. The superiority in testing of the NA subjects over the DA subjects was at the .05 level of confidence when the subjects were tested concerning facts pertaining to Negro Americans' role in American history and culture.
3. No other differences were significant. There were no significant differences in the subjects' knowledge of selected facts pertaining to the role of Dominant Americans in American history and culture, for instance. Neither was there in the two outgroups, DA and NA, in their knowledge of Jewish American history nor in the JA and NA in their knowledge of Negro American history.

*Second Testing, immediately after story of American culture.*

1. In every instance, the members of the in-group, tested higher than the members of outgroups. That means that Dominant American children tested better on the Dominant Culture test than did children of the two ethnic groups and that they did better on their "own" test than they did on the other two tests. That means that Jewish American children tested better on the Jewish American test than did children of the other two culture groups and that they did better on their "own" test than they did on the other two tests. The case with the NA students is the same.
2. In some instances differences did not become significant until after adjustments had been made for initial differences by means of the covariant analysis, or became more significant. A case in point is the greater learnings of the DA over the JA in terms of the DA test. Another instance is that of the DA over the JA in terms of the NA test. (This is especially interesting in that at the time of the pre-testing, the superiority of the JA over the NA had been at the .01 level of confidence.) The mean differences of the NA vs. DA in terms of the Dominant Culture test increased in significance after adjustment.
3. In some instances significant differences lessened after adjustments had been made for initial differences. The initial high



testing of the Jewish children accounts for several such cases. In terms of their own culture, the DA vs. JA difference lost its significance, while the JA vs. NA difference dropped from the .01 level to the .05 level of confidence. In terms of the NA test, the JA vs. NA difference decreased although it remained at the .01 level of confidence. (In the initial testing, the JA mean was greater than the NA.)

4. There were no significant differences in the test means of the two outgroups in the cases of the DA and JA tests either before or after adjustments for initial differences. However, in the case of NA test, as has been said, the difference became significant after covariance analysis.

*Third testing, after time lapse.*

1. In every instance, the members of the in-group tested higher than the members of outgroups, both before and after adjusting for initial differences.
2. In every instance, the percentage of facts retained during the time lapse was greatest when the group's own culture group was involved.

**PERCENTAGE OF RETENTION**

	DA test	JA test	NA test
DA subjects	57%	54%	46%
JA subjects	21%	58%	51%
NA subjects	31%	59%	68%

3. In no instance did the members of the two outgroups differ significantly in their mean knowledge of facts concerning the ingroup, either before or after covariant analysis. For example, there was no significant difference after a time lapse, between the mean scores of the DA and JA in terms of the NA test.
4. In every instance, the mean differences between the ingroup and a given outgroup was significant prior to adjustment, although that significance was lost after adjustment for initial differences because of the initial high scores of the JA subjects in case of the DA vs. JA and JA vs. NA scores on the Jewish American test.
5. In spite of the greater percentage of retention of facts about the ingroup, in cases showing extremely divergent scores at the time of the second testing the differences at the time of the third testings were less significant than at the time of the second testing immediately after study.

6. The test scores made by the DA subjects were least divergent on the three tests, the scores made by the NA subjects most divergent, while the scores on the three tests made by the JA subjects occupied a middle position, as far as divergency is concerned. (This seems to reflect the degree of discrimination the respective groups experience. It also reflects the degree of ethnocentrism evidenced by sociometric choices as described above.)

### CHART I

#### SUMMARY OF TESTING IN TERMS OF MEAN SCORES ON EACH TEST

<i>DA SUBJECTS</i>	Testing I	Testing II	Testing III
DA Test	12.50	18.63 (18.80)*	16.00 (16.09)
JA Test	11.74	18.62 (18.98)	15.44 (16.11)
NA Test	10.63	18.44 (19.25)	14.88 (15.52)
<i>JA SUBJECTS</i>			
DA Test	13.44	17.06 (16.48)	14.19 (13.87)
JA Test	14.81	20.94 (20.19)	18.38 (16.99)
NA Test	12.81	17.18 (16.60)	14.81 (14.34)
* Adjusted scores.			
<i>NA SUBJECTS</i>			
DA Test	12.19	15.63 (16.03)	13.63 (13.86)
JA Test	11.63	17.44 (17.84)	15.06 (15.80)
NA Test	12.25	21.94 (21.72)	18.81 (18.62)

\* The numbers in parantheses are adjusted means.

### CHART II

#### SUMMARY OF TESTINGS IN TERMS OF MEAN SCORES ON COMBINED TESTS

	I. Pretest	II. After study	III. After lapse <sup>1</sup>
Dominant Americans	11.62	18.56	15.63
Jewish Americans	13.69	18.69	15.83
Negro Americans	12.10	18.33	15.81

### IMPLICATIONS OF STUDY

Teachers may decide what is taught, but the students decide what is learned. This investigation showed that ethnic group membership is an affective factor in the retention of selected facts pertaining to American history and culture. Such membership does, indeed, furnish one of the frames of references, "set," that determines what we perceive, experience, and remember.

<sup>1</sup> A check on scholastic averages as determined by school marks shows a different line-up. The Dominant culture youngsters received the highest marks, the Jewish second, and the Negro Americans third.

Students in the same classroom may have comparable amounts of learnings, and, yet, so selective are the processes of perception and retention that very different things are learned. A glance at chart I will show widely divergent mean scores, but Chart II reveals that the total learning in all three testings is not very different.

All ethnic group members should have the opportunity to discover their group playing respectable and respected roles in American history and culture. Information given in most American history textbooks about the contributions and roles of so-called minority peoples in this country is meagre and often biased. Negro Americans are seldom mentioned except as slaves and even then their labor is not evaluated as contributing to the total wealth of the country. The Negro group in contemporary society tends to be ignored. Pupils are all too often given the impression that Judaism and Jewish culture have not changed since ancient times. Oriental Americans frequently suffer from offensive generalizations as do immigrants, who are all too often spoken about in patronizing terms.

Acceptance of the members of the outgroup by the ingroup tends to precede the acceptance by that group of the values and behavior of the ingroup, as Allport so ably states. Unfortunately, it tends to be the practice, in schools as well as elsewhere, to require that the mastery of values and "correct" behavior on the part of the outgroup member precede his acceptance into the group. The acceptance of all students of every ethnic group by the respected teacher may do more toward adoption of the desired values by the rejected outgroup than any amount of book pounding or exhortation.

The importance of democratic living in a pluralistic society cannot be realized until the subgroups are aware of each other both at the cognitive and emotional level. The classroom offers an excellent place for children to have satisfying experiences together in such a way that their peculiar contributions accelerate the ongoing process of the class. The attitudes of cultural groups toward peer groups within the classroom may indicate the way that group's role in history is viewed and vice versa. Failure to learn selected facts about a certain culture may be an indication of prejudice against that group. On the other hand, it may only be due to inaccessibility of such facts. The textbooks and teacher education both tend to be restricted in coverage.

It may be more important to know why a child does not learn than that he does not learn certain selected facts. Extreme ethnocentrism may be an indication of emotional disturbance on the part of the child. An analysis of individual test scores revealed some inter-

esting tendencies. Children with scores on the three tests that did not differ widely tended to be more stable in their school performance than those who had widely divergent scores. It has been well established that extreme ethnocentrism is one expression of a total behavior pattern. Children highly prejudiced tend to be "behavior problems." Such was the case in this study. It was noticed, also, that even when facts were favorable to the particular group, if they were in conflict with what was generally accepted as facts and to the "set" of the individuals, it was not retained. As an example, the Negro American children learned but did not retain the fact that Phillis Wheatly was a poet; the Dominant Culture Americans learned but did not retain the fact that immigration laws favor the North Europeans.

Ethnic group membership would play a selective learning role wherever and whenever cultural values are involved, such as in literature. The Social Studies curriculum is, however, in a favored position as far as being able to help children improve their intergroup relations is concerned. The Social Studies teaching techniques are so varied that all skills may be utilized. Thus each group and each child in each group can maximize his contribution to the ongoing process and the fulfillment of his talents simultaneously. The subject matter is such that without forcing the issue it is possible for every child to see his group playing a needed role that entitles him to consider himself a first rate American. Lastly, the flexibility of studies makes it comparatively easy to achieve a classroom climate where ethnic, class, and other group memberships can feel accepted. Leadership can be seen not only as group dominance but as group service. Moreover, the essence of the democratic process is that the obverse side of opportunity is responsibility.

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## SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS IN INTEGRATION\*

Don J. Hager

The desegregation process did, in fact, precede the Supreme Court decision of May 1954; the decision articulated and extended a trend that had already achieved a measure of public support. Every community, North and South, has a continuing involvement in both desegregation and integration irrespective of acknowledged differences in stages of attainment and in degree and kind of problem. Even in the South it can be said that there are different degrees of opposition to as well as support of desegregation. The function of these processes is further complicated by the imposition of fears, grievances, complaints, legal and economic maneuvering, on responsible efforts to attain equality of educational opportunity. But foremost among these complicating factors is the difficulty encountered in making a proper interpretation of the various ways in which communities react to the demands of integration.<sup>1</sup>

When considering variation in response to integration, it is important to stress the idea that communities should not permit the anticipated problems and controversies that may accompany integration to be used to defend the *status quo*, that is, segregation; or, as support for the view that integration is both unworkable and undesirable. It should also be made clear that segregation creates and perpetuates more social, psychological, and educational evils than it is prepared to remedy. On the other hand, integration is a form of social change of the first magnitude. It does require candid acknowledgement of the problems that may attend it as well as intelligent preparation for their resolution. Communities must be prepared, for example, to deal with individuals and groups who seek to manipulate these problems with a view toward extending their domination over strategic economic, political, and social forces in the community.

Communities that initiate the integration process without adequate preparation are likely to fall victim to fantasy, rumor, anticipatory fears and even hysteria. Even when integration is already established, some anxiety and fear will persist as the process moves through various stages. The attitudinal changes necessary for unquali-

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\* This article will appear as a chapter in *Children Together* — an analysis in Northern urban areas to be published by the American Jewish Congress.

<sup>1</sup> For an extended analysis of these reactions, see Stuart W. Cook, "Desegregation: A Psychological Analysis," Research Center for Human Relations, New York University (1956).



fied acceptance of the idea of equality of educational opportunity will probably not come about in the adult generation; but it is well to remember that "children live in the houses of tomorrow" — they will inherit and mature in a new climate.

#### CULTURAL DEPRIVATION AND INTEGRATION

An examination of many plans (e. g., Washington, D. C., and New York City) designed to achieve integration reveals a persistent concern for improving the quality of teachers, curricula, and guidance services in substandard schools. This is a necessary concern because the student populations of such schools are invariably the products of economically and cultural deprived homes. The impact of segregation, statutory or *de facto*, on minority children has done much to lower or inhibit their sense of aspiration and attainment. Ultimately, this means that minority adults and children are prevented from participating fully in the cultural benefits and social rewards of American society. Without the necessary motivation and desire, they are unable to utilize and exploit the available social and cultural resources (e. g., education) that enhance opportunities for personal development, mobility, and achievement.

It has long been acknowledged that deprived minority children tend to exhibit greatly reduced (or underdeveloped) drives toward accomplishment and the acquisition of those skills necessary for the attainment of social rewards and life satisfactions. The promise of public education is often not the same for Negro as it is for white children. Culturally deprived children do not, understandably, find much compensation or motivation in sheer exposure to the content and direction of public education; the value of this opportunity is over-shadowed by feelings of inadequacy and by an inability to relate education to their own realistic notions of what a segregated culture is like.

The argument is often advanced that in these times of prosperity and increased income, Negro and other minorities are experiencing the benefits of higher incomes — better housing, education, medical care, and the like. It is true that the economic status of minorities has increased but, on the other hand, it is also true that their income levels were substantially below those of the general white population to begin with. In this sense, the increase in the economic status of minorities (particularly Negroes and Puerto Ricans) is a statistical mirage. As minority incomes increase, so do those of the white majority — the "dollar gap" between white and non-white populations is just as great as it ever was. Moreover, the increase in minority in-

comes is not necessarily related to increased motivation or to changing levels of aspiration—for these are values that flow from free access to and use of the nation's cultural and social resources and not from the mere fact of increased income. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that economic and material advancement will supplant informed concern about the social and psychological conditions that stimulate the desire to learn, to aspire, and to contribute to the growth and development of democratic society.

#### INTEGRATION AND EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS

The social and psychological significance of cultural deprivation, particularly its impact on the educational performance of children, appears to be related to the fears of those white parents who, while disclaiming discriminatory intent, enter the complaint that integration is likely to result in lowering educational standards and thus "hold back" the intellectual development of their children. The fear is expressed that equality of educational opportunity is to be attained by sacrificing existing educational standards and services to what they consider to be a questionable goal—integration; that is, by "equalizing" the distribution of educational resources for all children and thus reduce the quality of education offered in a particular school or school system.

The fear that integration is to be achieved through a reduction in the quality of education provided can seriously jeopardize the integration effort. It is important to note, however, that this fear constitutes an admission that segregated society is, in fact, responsible for providing non-white children with substandard education—otherwise there would be no need to express concern about non-white children "holding back" the educational process. The significance of this admission must be made clear to those parents and educators who harbor doubts about the educational consequences of integration.

The rational allaying of these fears, as well as the attainment of effective integration demands, therefore, that plans for integration is firmly joined to simultaneous efforts to enhance and improve the quality of public education at all levels. Integration that proceeds solely on the premise of "equalizing" all available educational facilities and resources is not likely to achieve integration or educational eminence. It is for this reason that all carefully considered programs for integration make extensive provision for improving teacher recruitment and assignment policies, instructional techniques, curricula, supervision, educational plant, and guidance services throughout the local school system. Thus conceived, integration becomes indistin-

guishable from the general effort to advance the goals and prospects of public education.

Public education is the single most potent social instrument available for transforming the culturally impoverished into the culturally enriched, and for the development of those attitudes and experiences that stimulate the desire to aspire and to accomplish. To remove all vestiges of substandard education, to guarantee all children a maximum of educational talent and resources, are proper goals for all those who would advance public education in America.

#### INTEGRATION AND RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Most public schools are neighborhood schools and they reflect, therefore, the racial and ethnic composition of the districts in which they are located. Segregated schools in Northern cities are largely a consequence of residential segregation — although this condition is often reinforced by a history of gerrymandered school district lines and restrictive covenants.

It is a mistake to assume, however, that plans for integration must await the elimination of residential segregation. Too many school boards have permitted the persistence of residential segregation to block consideration of plans designed to remove its impact on the educational process. School boards are not responsible for the creation and persistence of residential segregation; they are, however, responsible for providing the leadership and initiative necessary for the establishment and execution of programs that will eliminate the problems that residential segregation has imposed on public education.

Nor should school officials be permitted to evade responsibility for establishing integrated education by "delegating" authority for the construction and execution of integration programs to interested civic and community relations organizations. It is obviously desirable that community groups participate in integration programming but, without official status and sanction, they may retard rather than advance its acceptance and application. In addition, this tactic often permits school boards to reject such plans as are submitted to them by civic organizations without accepting any official responsibility for recommending or producing alternative plans or solutions. In the interest of achieving effective and responsible integration, it is necessary that school officials acknowledge and accept their obligation to explore and eliminate all vestiges of segregated education.

#### RATIOS AND INTEGRATION

Groups committed to achieving integration in the public schools are frequently concerned about the meaning or measure of integration

in a particular school or school system. Integration, of course, is not an all or nothing proposition. It may even be difficult to reach agreement on what constitutes a satisfactorily integrated school. Working ratios cannot be used as absolutes but only as guides or bench-marks. A ratio of 70 per cent white and 30 per cent Negro may be satisfactory in one community but wholly inadequate in another. Integration policies should not be predicated on exclusive concern about "proper" ratios of Negro to white students.

There have been occasions where integration programs have bogged down because school officials and civic organizations became involved in debate over ratios instead of discussing ultimate objectives. During a public meeting on integration in a New York State community, one spokesman said that "he would buy integration at the 33 percent Negro level but not at the 38 percent level." In this case, integration is reduced to little more than feckless debate over the acceptability of ratios.

#### CIVIL RIGHTS AND I. Q'S

It may be said that the ultimate purpose of integration is to guarantee equality of educational opportunity to all children. It cannot be denied, however, that this necessary and commendable goal has been attacked, North and South, by those who would reinstate segregation and thus return to the conditions that created the problem. Foremost among the attacks on plans to integrate the nation's public schools is that, bolstered by spurious "scientific findings," which clings to the unwarranted view that Negroes exhibit less capacity for education than whites. This argument hinges on the erroneous assumption that although the Negro is now experiencing an improved social and economic position, "scientific studies prove" that he is not capable of taking full advantage of the educational opportunities now afforded him.

This is not the occasion to submit a critique of the "evidence" submitted in support of the allegation that Negroes are inherently less educable than whites. That evidence has been reviewed by responsible scholars and rejected on the grounds that it is scientifically unsound and without merit. In addition, one might add, what is the possibility of measuring the impact of 80 years of segregated education and social circumstances on learning capacities and motivation? How is it possible to provide an accurate assessment of what it means to be a Negro in a white society? Let there be no mistake about the relevance of motivation and aspiration to educational attainment. These important considerations are acknowledged by all informal

educators and psychologists. It is for this reason that current plans for integrating the public schools anticipate and prepare for reducing the gap that is likely to obtain between culturally impoverished and culturally enriched children — smaller classes, improved facilities, remedial work, and expanded guidance and motivational resources. Thus the fact of discrepancies in educational attainment is real and must be dealt with. But there is no serious possibility of "equating" Negroes and whites in a segregated culture. It should also be pointed out that culturally and economically deprived *white* groups show a similar lack of preparation and motivation for educational attainment.

Attempts to harass and discredit plans for integration in certain urban communities (e.g., Washington, D. C.), although of little merit or substance, do tend to obscure the fact that the allegations made regarding the educational capacities of Negroes and whites has little to do with the Supreme Court decision of May 1954. The Supreme Court said that segregated schools are unconstitutional, that the doctrine of "separate but equal" is, by definition, discriminatory and prejudicial. Therefore, equal educational opportunity is a matter of civil rights, not of I. Q's. That decision outlaws all statutory segregation without reference to educational capabilities, attainments, potentialities, or racial status.

#### SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

Integration may create a new situation for teachers, parents and students. It is anticipated that there will be some rejection of the idea of integration among these various collectivities. It will require time before so-called "racial loyalties" are replaced by traditional loyalties of neighborhood, of school, of class, or of team loyalties. Moreover, insecure children, white or Negro, will bring different reactions to and expectations about integration. Parents, teachers, and administrators will exhibit varying degrees of sensitivity to the social and psychological dimensions of the new situation. None of these groups will be totally free of prejudice and misconceptions regarding the aims of integration. New friendships, new responsibilities, and new associations are also likely to produce conflicting emotional responses.

Children and parents of different social backgrounds and experience will continue to express reservations about social intercourse and exchange that are not necessarily related to differences in racial or ethnic origins. Educators and teachers are likely to express certain fears and uncertainties regarding their role and status in the integration process. Teachers of inadequate experience and ability will con-



tinue to have "problems — integration may, in fact heighten these inadequacies so that some teachers will be inclined to blame integration for their anxieties, grievances, and short-comings. Parents and teachers may also continue to be the victims of negative stereotypes about Negro children; that they are ineducable; that they are "cute"; or that they are "better off" being enrolled in "vocational" courses. But it is important that school officials prevent these anxieties, misconceptions, and uncertainties from being transmitted to the children and to the learning situation. They should not be permitted to interfere with the application of those accredited educational practices and skills that are necessary for the intellectual and social growth of the child.

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## **A SURVEY OF PARENTS' REACTIONS AND OPINIONS CONCERNING CERTAIN ASPECTS OF EDUCATION<sup>1</sup>**

**Donald Auster and John Moldstad**

Within recent years certain events and publications have caused educators and the lay citizenry to take a closer look at present teaching practices and methods. The Los Angeles School Board controversy ending in the release of Superintendent Goslin and the publication of Dr. Rudolph Flesh's new book, *Why Johnny Can't Read*, are but two of the incidents which have alerted local citizens to greater concern about their schools and what they are doing.

These same incidents also have awakened educators to their responsibilities of interpreting the work of the schools to the public. The Indiana University Audio-Visual Center and the Indiana State Teacher's Association have been and are presently engaged in two such projects. In the fall of 1955 they jointly produced a series of four television programs designed to give the general public a more complete picture of today's teacher and to show the challenges and opportunities in the teaching profession.

These programs were presented over the Bloomington, Indiana, commercial television station, WTTV. At present these organizations are engaged in the planning and production of a film emphasizing how elementary children are taught the 3 R's and other basic skills and incidentally showing the professional activities of the teachers.

### **THE METHOD**

While the questionnaire survey has certain well-known limitations, it was felt that it could be an extremely useful guide and supplement to the knowledge already available by providing information concerning the opinions of several thousand parents.

A questionnaire was constructed and distributed in five Indiana schools where the children took them home to their parents. The completed questionnaires were collected a few days later.

### **THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

The questionnaire consisted mainly of check-list type questions plus several open-ended questions. It sought information concerning

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<sup>1</sup>The authors wish to acknowledge the following individuals for their suggestions in developing the questionnaire used in this study: Burley V. Bechdolt, Research Director, Indiana State Teachers Association; Borden R. Purcell, Field Service and Placement Director, Indiana State Teachers Association; Dr. Beeman N. Phillips, Research Director, Indiana State Department of Education.

(1) the relative size of the viewing audience among the parents responding; (2) their reactions to the television programs; and (3) their opinions on various problems and policies in education. The last part of the questionnaire dealt with certain demographic characteristics of the respondents including their education, age, number of children of school age, etc. Most of the responses were coded on key-sort punch cards.

#### THE SAMPLE

The questionnaires were distributed to children in five Indiana schools. The specific schools were selected so as to represent a heterogeneous sampling of parents. Three Indianapolis elementary schools were selected from areas of varying socio-economic status. Rural representation was secured by selecting the Spencer, Indiana, public school. The fifth school in the group was the Bloomington Junior High School located in a university town.

The children in these schools represented approximately 2,600 parents.

The questionnaires were distributed to the schools and taken home by the children Friday, April 22. Parents were asked to view the educational program called "Spend a Day With Future Teachers" presented at 11:30 a.m., Saturday, April 23, over WTTV. The directions also asked them to be sure and fill out the remainder of the questionnaire even if they did not have an opportunity to view that particular program or the program of the previous week.

The basic sample in terms of returned questionnaires and television and non-television families appears below as Table 1:

TABLE 1: THE SAMPLE AND THE NUMBER OF TELEVISION FAMILIES

School	Grades	Approx. No. of Parents	Returns	TV	Non-TV	No Ans.
Spencer	1-8	410	246	196	37	13
Bloomington	7-8-9	900	252	224	26	2
Ind. No. 35	Kdg.-8	400	144	129	14	1
Ind. No. 68	Kdg.-8	500	326	309	10	7
Ind. No. 80	Kdg.-8	408	213	204	7	2
Totals:		2,618	1,181	1,062	94	25

#### RESULTS

The results are presented in terms of the tabulated findings followed by explanations highlighting the more significant points and their meaning.

Table 2 compares the percent of respondents viewing program I which occurred the Saturday before the survey and received no promotion or announcement other than the usual newspaper television schedule with those who viewed program II. Parents received advance notice of program II via the questionnaire delivered by the students.

TABLE 2: PROGRAM VIEWING AMONG TELEVISION FAMILIES

School	Per cent Viewing Program I	Per cent Viewing Program II
Spencer	7.1	29.6
Bloomington	5.8	29.0
Indianapolis No. 35	4.9	16.7
Indianapolis No. 68	2.7	16.3
Indianapolis No. 80	1.0	12.3
Total Sample	4.1	20.7
Cases	44	220

It is striking to note that among respondents who owned television sets, program II was viewed by five times (20.7%) as many viewers as program I (4.1%). While a number of variables undoubtedly operated to produce this large difference, it seems probable that much of the credit for this can be attributed to the promotional effect of the questionnaire itself. By asking them to react to the program, the questionnaire undoubtedly became a device creating participation and ego-involvement on the part of the respondent.

Looking at the details of Table 2, it is apparent that the heaviest viewing occurred in the small city and town samples, namely Bloomington and Spencer. On the other hand, the greatest increases occurred in the city sample where viewing on the first program was exceptionally light. However, there are certain inherent difficulties when we compare differences in percentages and proportionate increases where the baseline varies for the things compared. For example, the higher the initial viewing the less the increase can be. If the ceiling on viewing is 100 percent and the initial viewing of program I is 7.1 per cent the possible increase is less than if initial viewing was only 1.0 percent. A measurement which takes this into consideration is the increase in number viewing the second program divided by the maximum increase possible. This index developed by Hovland and his associates<sup>1</sup> appears: 
$$\text{Effective Index} = \frac{P_2 - P_1}{100 - P_1}$$

<sup>1</sup> Hovland, Carl, et al., *Experiments on Mass Communications* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 284-289.

where  $P_1$  is used to indicate the initial percent and  $P_2$  the final percent. Using this formula with the percentages found in Table 2, the increase in program II viewing appears as follows in Table 3.

TABLE 3: INCREASE IN PROGRAM II VIEWING USING THE EFFECTIVENESS INDEX

School	Effectiveness Index
Spencer	24.2%
Bloomington	24.6%
Indianapolis No. 35	12.4%
Indianapolis No. 68	13.6%
Indianapolis No. 80	11.5%

We now see that the initial advantage for increase that the three Indianapolis schools possessed by virtue of their low program I viewing which made large gains possible is compensated for by the Index. Spencer and Bloomington have the highest Indexes and therefore by this measure the greatest gain. Whether the reader wishes to draw his conclusions from the percentage increases shown in Table 3 will depend on his own feelings towards the problem; both are legitimate ways of illustrating the changes in viewing.

Table 4 shows the relationship between educational level and viewing.

TABLE 4: PROGRAM VIEWING AMONG TELEVISION OWNERS BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

N	Education Level	% Viewed Progr. I	% Viewed Progr. II
88	Elementary school	6.8	23.9
656	High School	3.5	22.5
247	College	4.5	18.2
71	Unknown	7.2	8.5

The relatively large amount of program I viewing among the elementary school group is apparent in this table. It should be noted, however, that further analysis of this result not reported here revealed that this phenomenon occurred mainly in the Spencer sample and may well be part of generally strong viewing in the Spencer group. Utilizing the Effectiveness Index once again our results now appear as follows:

TABLE 5: INCREASE IN VIEWING FROM PROGRAM I TO PROGRAM III BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Education Level	Effectiveness Index
Elementary school	18.2%
High school	19.7%
College	14.3%



The results obtained by this measure are more or less the same as in the previous table with the largest increment occurring in the elementary and high school educated groups.

The largest proportionate increase occurred in the high school educated group. The viewing among those who failed to report their education is rather unique in terms of initial amount and lack of increase.

One of the more interesting findings pertained to the following question: "On program I we showed how children can learn such fundamentals as reading, writing, arithmetic and spelling by making cookies. Do you agree that such fundamentals can be learned in this way?" This question was originally designed for only those respondents who actually saw the program in question; however, hundreds took it merely as a question for anyone and it seemed valuable to tabulate it as such. These results appear below in Table 6.

TABLE 6: CAN FUNDAMENTALS BE LEARNED BY MAKING COOKIES?

Educational level	%			No. Cases
	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain	
Elementary	60.3	15.1	24.7	73
High school	68.8	7.5	23.6	433
College	65.2	12.2	22.7	181
All	67.0	9.6	23.4	687

This table clearly shows that on the one hand two-thirds of our sample believe in the effectiveness of such methods and on the other hand only a minority of ten percent disagree with the methods. It seems to the authors that although our newspapers and particularly our national magazines often give the impression that public opinion is strongly lined up against such practices, it is apparent, at least for our respondents, that public opinion — as far as they represent it — favors such methods.

Inspecting the Disagree column, it is evident that the greatest amount of disagreement occurs within the two opposite ends of the educational classification, the elementary school educated and the college educated. One can only conjecture concerning the reason for these attitudes. Possibly the elementary school educated are simply unable to grasp what modern teaching methods are trying to do. On the other hand, college educated individuals may be more self-confident about judging and criticizing teacher methods. Many studies have already noted a tendency for the higher educated to be willing to make judgments and render opinions as compared with the lower-

educated groups, even when their knowledge of the subject at hand is not appreciably greater; this, despite the common notion that it is always the less-educated who are the most opinionated. Another factor may be the influence of the educationally conservative liberal arts tradition on the thinking of the college educated.

The results of a related question to determine the respondent's general opinion of the modern teacher against the standard of the teacher of his schooldays is tabulated in Table 7.

TABLE 7

*Question: "How do you really think today's teachers compare with those of your schooldays?"*

Level of Education	% Better	% The Same	% Worse
Elementary	50.0	31.5	18.4
High school	64.7	22.7	12.6
College	63.0	23.0	14.0
All levels	63.9	22.6	13.5

960 responses

Here again we note that dominant opinion at all educational levels is that today's teacher is *better*. This viewpoint ranges from half of the elementary school educated to almost two-thirds of the more highly educated groups. Furthermore, if we combine those who believe today's teachers are better with those who concede they are as good as those of their school days, we find this includes 86.5 percent of the respondents.

A major problem in our schools today is of course the shortage of teachers. One important factor in this problem is certainly recruitment. A young person's ultimate decision to enter the teaching profession depends upon many factors. One is his evaluation of the nature of the work. The opinions and beliefs of others whom he

TABLE 8

*Question: "Would you personally encourage a young man to go into teaching?"*

Education Level	% Yes	% Uncertain	% No	No. Cases
Elementary	54.0	27.0	19.5	113
High school	49.9	20.4	29.8	716
College	46.9	11.2	42.0	267
Education unknown	16.7	73.8	9.5	84
All levels	47.2	30.1	22.7	
Number cases:	557	355	268	

respects and who shape his thinking before a final decision is reached are often of great importance. Consequently, we have asked our parent respondents to indicate to what extent they would personally encourage young people to enter the teaching field. The question and the responses, broken down again by educational level appear as tables eight and nine.

The affirmative response is very similar among those groups whose educational level is known, comprising approximately half of each of these groups. However, visible distinctions are apparent when we turn to the other responses. For example, among the college group there is little uncertainty on this question with most of the remaining responses occupying the negative column. This pattern is much less the case with the high school group and still less the case with the elementary school group. With the exception of the very deviant responses we have noted all along for those respondents whose educational level is unknown, we find that the college educated parent is twice as likely to discourage a young man from going into the teaching profession as is the elementary school educated parent. And yet if this type of response is generally and persistently true, it becomes very serious in light of the ever-increasing proportion of college educated parents in our population. Our supplementary question asking them to explain these responses almost uniformly yielded the reply that the pay was extremely inadequate. On the other hand, it is evident that teaching looks like a good profession to the elementary-school educated. However, among the college educated and to a lesser extent the high school educated where expectations of relatively high status and income employment exists, teaching does not rate very well.

The same question was asked merely substituting *woman* for *man*.

TABLE 9

Question: "Would you personally encourage a young *woman* to go into teaching?"

	% Yes	% Uncertain	% No
Education level			
Elementary	72.6	20.4	7.1
High school	74.7	16.1	9.2
College	83.9	7.9	8.2
Education unknown	26.2	71.4	2.4
All levels	73.1	18.6	8.3
1,180 responses			

Evidently parents with varying amounts of education are favorably inclined to see young women enter teaching. This time, however, it is the college group which is most favorable. Perhaps the fact that in our society the occupational opportunities for women are still somewhat limited means that the same occupational attainments are not expected of her as for men. Furthermore, there probably is less taboo against a career for women among the college group as compared with the lesser educated. Many respondents favoring a teaching career for women may not consider low financial remuneration a big deterrent since a single woman can live on a teacher's salary more easily than a married man with children.

An additional reason expressed in the write-in responses under this question was that teaching was a good source of supplementary family income.

In view of the serious teacher shortages, it would seem that a concerted effort needs to be made to shift this parental negativism towards teaching as inappropriate for males. The notion of teaching as a sex-linked occupation must be rapidly removed.

TABLE 10

Question: "What would you say is the biggest problem in today's schools?"

<i>Categories</i>	<i>Responses</i>
1. Physical plant needs	393
2. Teacher shortages	322
3. Teachers underpaid	68
4. Not teaching enough fundamentals	55
5. Discipline	52
a. Teachers not blamed	29
b. Teachers blamed, not firm enough	23
6. Undesirable teacher-student relationships	50
7. Not enough individual attention for students	48
8. Teachers inadequately trained	29
9. Teachers disinterested in their work	10

*Miscellaneous*: five responses or less per item

Segregation issue

Not enough religion in the schools

Politics in education

Teachers old-fashioned

Too much homework

Teachers showing favoritism to some pupils

Teachers exercising too much authority over children

Teachers too young

Clothing a child for school is expensive

Total responses

1,139

Our final opinion question was of the open-ended variety permitting a purely spontaneous reply. Its general nature was such that it appeared best to place it last, after the respondent had already been thinking about various aspects of teaching and education. The question and its responses appear below. The responses were classified according to their theme. While the categories are related to each other and not completely mutually exclusive, they do permit a rather detailed view of the response.

It is apparent from the table that those parents who answered the question are well aware of the major problems confronting the schools today, particularly the problems resulting from plant and personnel shortages.

While various readers of this report will think of different problems that our respondents failed to mention, one that occurs to us is the category of fear among teachers particularly in regard to pressures compelling one to take conservative positions in the teaching of social studies. The Fund for the Republic has instituted a large study in this area. We cite this matter to illustrate the fact that although this problem is felt to be significant to some people professionally interested in teaching and education, such a problem is apparently not important in the minds of our parent-respondents.

No mention has been made concerning relationships between the respondent's age, sex, or age of children in school as they might relate to the opinions held on these questions concerning education. These relationships were omitted since preliminary analysis of these factors proved them to be of little significance apart from the educational level.

#### SUMMARY

As summary we shall list what appear to be the more important findings of this research although they are not necessarily ranked in any order of importance.

1. Television program II was viewed by five times as many parents as viewed program I.
2. The questionnaire used appeared to be an effective ego-involving and audience building device.
3. The heavier program viewing appeared to be in the Spencer and Bloomington areas as compared to Indianapolis.
4. The greatest increments in viewing were in the areas where initial viewing was lightest.



5. However, the use of the Effectiveness Index altered these findings by showing them from a different statistical perspective and indicated that the areas with the greatest initial viewing (Spencer, Bloomington) had the largest increments.
6. The largest amount of viewing occurred among the less educated segments of the sample.
7. Concerning learning fundamentals while engaging in such practices as making cookies, two-thirds of our respondents are in favor of such methods while only about ten percent disagree; the remainder are uncertain.

The disagreement comes primarily from both ends of our educational levels, the elementary school educated and the college educated.

8. Almost two-thirds of our respondents believe that today's teachers are better than those of their own school-days. The elementary school educated made the least favorable comparisons.
9. About half of our respondents would encourage a young man to enter teaching.  
There is an inverse relationship between such encouragements and educational level with the bulk of respondents who would not encourage young men to enter teaching coming from the college educated group.
10. Almost three-fourths of the respondents would encourage a young woman to enter teaching.
11. The major problems in the schools today according to our respondents are: (1) plant shortages, (2) teacher shortages, (3) teachers underpaid, and to a lesser extent (4) lack of stress on fundamentals and (5) discipline.

#### IMPLICATIONS

The results of this study seem to point up certain implications for educators.

First, a questionnaire sent home to parents via school children as a notice of a forthcoming educational television program seems to have important possibilities as an audience-building device. This simple, inexpensive ego-involving instrument may prove more effective than expensive mass-media advertising for building certain kinds of audiences. In some cases, a questionnaire consisting of two or three simple questions asking for audience reactions would probably suffice.

At present we have fifteen educational television stations in opera-

tion throughout the country and many educational organizations awaiting final channel allocations. In order to remain on the air, these stations will need powerful and continued support from the public. In view of the meager research on methods and techniques of television audience building, further study should be undertaken on the effectiveness of the student-delivered questionnaire.

Second, analysis of the questionnaire responses submitted by this sample of Indiana parents suggests that perhaps educators should spend less time defending their teaching methods and selling themselves to the public. In view of the pressing teacher shortage, this time might be spent more judiciously by selling both prospective teacher recruits and adults who influence them on the advantages and satisfactions of teaching. This study revealed definite parental negativism towards teaching as desirable profession for men. Top priority must be given to exploding the notion of teaching as a sex-linked occupation.

Finally, this research indicated that the parents studied had a good grasp of the important problems facing the schools today. Therefore, if this group of parents is typical of Indiana parents in general, we could perhaps profitably divert some of the energy we devote to alerting parents to the problems to actively soliciting their help in working out solutions.

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## RELIGION AS A CULTURAL FACTOR IN ONE ASPECT OF THE PERSONALITY OF SELECTED COLLEGE STUDENTS<sup>1</sup>

Thomas Ford Hoult and Charles W. Peckham

### I. INTRODUCTION

This paper is concerned with an attempt to isolate denominational background as a factor in one aspect of the adjustment of students in a church controlled college. The propositions of the "culture and personality" approach to human society provided the theoretical framework for the research; thus, the study was conceived as a contribution to sociology-anthropology as well as to education.

One of the most significant developments in social science in recent years has been the increasing recognition that a realistic knowledge of individuals must rest upon a knowledge of the cultural background of the people involved.<sup>2</sup> "Culture and Personality" is now a necessary part of any respectable text in social psychology. But the acceptance of the theories of culture and personality has been accompanied by a feeling on the part of many cultural scientists that the elusive nature of culture and of personality are such that experimental studies in the field, which are the quintessence of scientific method, are relatively impossible. For example, Ralph Linton wrote:

Thus the very nature of the material precludes, in large part, the use of experimental methods. The intrinsic qualities of cultures and societies are such that it is impossible to produce them to order or to study them under rigid control conditions.<sup>3</sup>

However, since Linton made this statement (1945), a number of experimental studies dealing with aspects of culture and personality have appeared.<sup>4</sup> Although most of the studies are not experimental in the orthodox sense of the word (i.e., they don't manipulate), almost all of them are concerned with minimizing the effect of extraneous factors and observing the apparent results of one or a few free variables. This is the real heart of the experimental method.

It is in the foregoing sense that the present study of culture and personality is reported as experimental. That is, the group studied were not actually subjected to any experimental condition; but control was exercised over important variables at the same time that recorded facts were examined to determine the apparent effect of one major uncontrolled variable. This amounts to what Chapin calls an *ex post facto* experiment.<sup>5</sup>

The study was designed to throw light on one aspect of the general question of the effect of cultural background on the personality of college students. Hatch and Landis have published an extensive study dealing with college achievement as it is affected by social heritage.<sup>6</sup> However, their research did not touch on religious heritage in any sense. The sole purpose of the present study has been to direct attention to religious heritage alone as a factor in college success.

In a seminar on culture and personality directed by the senior author of the present study, the question arose as to whether the religious training of students might have any effect on their success in college. Obviously, this question would need to be answered "yes and no" depending upon the student, the religious training, and the institution involved. But it is a legitimate and significant, if limited, question in the field of personality as it is affected by culture in an educational milieu. This study attempts to answer the question, in part, relative to one type of institution of higher learning — the college controlled by a religious denomination. Since there are many hundreds of such colleges in the United States, the significance of the problem from a practical point of view should be clear.

## II. PROCEDURE

The procedure of the study was set up to test this specific hypothesis: In a denominational college, students whose religious affiliation is the same as that which controls the college will obtain a significantly higher grade point average when compared with students whose religious affiliation differs from the denomination controlling the college. It was felt that verification of this hypothesis would lend support to the proposition that individual adjustment is at least partially a function of familiarity with cultural environment. The hypothesis assumes that "college success" can be measured in terms of grades. As Hatch and Landis pointed out, school grading systems are, even with their deficiencies, fairly precise measurements of student success.<sup>7</sup>

The college chosen for study<sup>8</sup> kindly provided the necessary records and facilities. This college was ideal for the purpose because data were available for a period of time (1945-50) when approximately fifty per cent of all members of the student body claimed the Evangelical United Brethren Church (the denomination controlling the college) as their preference in religion, while the other half of the students claimed other churches or none at all. Thus, two relatively large groups — E. U. B. students and non-E. U. B. students — could be compared.

Using the college records, individual cards containing final grade point averages (expressed in numbers from 1.00 to 3.00, with 1.00 indicating a "C" average and 3.00 indicating an "A" average) and other data were made up for students who had completed all their work at the college and graduated during the years mentioned. When the cards were finished, they were divided into E. U. B. and non-E. U. B. groups, totaling 176 and 103 respectively. Together, these two groups made up the entire graduate population of the college during the six-year period, excluding students for whom data were not available and students who had done part of their work in other institutions.

The two groups were then matched on seven factors by frequency distribution. Although this method of matching is not as rigorous as individual case matching it is probably one of the most frequently used methods in social science today.<sup>9</sup> At any rate, the former method was out of the question with such small samples. The groups were matched on the basis of race, sex, age, occupation of the major parental family wage earner, place of residence, rank in high school class, and I. Q. score. Several limitations of the matching process should be noted: Age groups were matched in five year intervals, I. Q. groups in ten point intervals. On rank in high school class, the students were divided into four categories (upper quarter, upper half, upper three quarters and lower quarter) and matched on that basis. Matching for place of residence was accomplished on the basis of two categories only: rural and urban. Finally, using the crude data available, only five certain occupational groups were delineated for rough socio-economic matching purposes. Using a standard guide,<sup>10</sup> occupational groups were divided as follows: professional and managerial, clerical and sales, service, agricultural and kindred pursuits, and labor."

Because the relative homogeneity of the population studied, the matching did not result in an alarming loss of cases. The two final groups, matched on the seven factors mentioned, consisted of forty-four cases each.<sup>12</sup> The mean grade point of each of the two matched groups was then computed.<sup>13</sup>

### III. FINDINGS

It was found that the E. U. B. group had a mean grade point of 1.760, which was .129 higher than the 1.631 mean of the non-E. U. B. group. This difference was in the direction predicted by the hypothesis, but the E. U. B. average was not significantly higher than the non-E. U. B. average and could have occurred by chance.<sup>14</sup> Thus, on

the face of things, the hypothesis was not substantiated. The students whose denominational background was the same as that of their college did not appear to have a significantly higher grade point average when compared with students having different denominational affiliations.

The means of the original total groups, completely unmatched, were then compared. The total E. U. B. group had a mean of 1.638, which was only .046 higher than the 1.592 mean of the total non-E. U. B. group. One control (race) was then applied, and the means of the two groups again compared. A slightly greater difference between the two means, .048, appeared when this one control was applied. One more control (sex) was applied, and the difference between the two means grew to 0.58. Since the difference between the two means became larger with the application of each control, the means of the two groups were compared after the application of each of the further controls. The complete results were as follows: When no factors were controlled, the difference in means was .046 with the E. U. B. group having a mean of 1.638 and 176 cases, and the non-E. U. B. group having a mean of 1.592 and 103 cases; with race controlled, the Ns were respectively 166 and 85, the means 1.640 and 1.592, making a difference of .048 between the means; with sex added as a control the Ns were both eighty-five, the means 1.650 and 1.592, the difference .058; with residence added as a control the Ns were still eighty-five, the means 1.657 and 1.592, the difference .065; with age added as a control the Ns were both eighty-four, the means 1.665 and 1.577, the difference .088; with occupation added as a control the Ns were eighty-two, the means 1.677 and 1.577, the difference .100; with rank-in-high-school-class added as a control the Ns were seventy-eight, the means 1.647 and 1.600, the difference .047; finally, with I. Q. added as a control, the Ns were forty-four, the means 1.760 and 1.631, and the difference in means was .129.

The differences between means are the major point of interest in the foregoing data. It should be noted that with one exception, as the E. U. B. and non-E. U. B. groups were made more and more alike by applying more controls, the difference in their grade point averages grew larger and larger. Two things should be noted about this almost ever growing difference; One, the difference between the means is at no point statistically significant; and two, there is one place where the difference in the means becomes smaller (after the application of the control titled "rank in high school class"), although it grows larger again with the next control.



## IV. DISCUSSION

Although the average grade point of the E. U. B. students was at no point found to be significantly greater than the average of the non-E. U. B. group, the analysis indicated that in general the more the groups were matched, the greater was the difference between them in their grade point average. A trend in the same direction, such as this, may be as important as one large difference that is statistically significant.<sup>15</sup> It is true that one of the differences was not "in the same direction," but the general trend is obvious. It is probable that one can safely assume, lacking other data, that if perfect matching had been possible, a significant difference beyond the possibility of chance would have been demonstrable. As a matter of fact, when one further control was applied by making the non-E. U. B. group more homogeneous (all Methodist), while keeping the other seven controls constant (resulting in N's of twenty-three), the difference in means was found to be significant.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, when the final sample of forty-four in each group was increased to seventy-one by means of a technicality,<sup>17</sup> the difference between the means remained practically the same as it had been with N's of forty-four (with N's of forty-four the difference between the means was .129; with N's of seventy-one, the difference was .130). This suggests that the lack of significance between the means of the final matched samples having forty-four cases each was more a product of the small samples than a product of a truly insignificant difference between the means.

These observations indicate that on the basis of the evidence available, and within the limitations noted, the hypothesis of this study has apparently been supported. That is, in the denominational college studied, the students whose religious affiliation was the same as that of the college tended to do better in their grades, when considered as a group, in comparison with other students. Referring to the college environment alone, and considering the competitive nature of the modern world, this conclusion implies that if the pattern noted prevails in other denominational colleges, students would do well to attend their own denominational college or a non-denominational one.

More important—from the point of view of sociological theory—is the empirical support which the data lend to the proposition that individuals will make better, more complete adjustments when they are working in a familiar cultural environment. This proposition appears to be the most likely explanation for the better performance of the E. U. B. students. The only known major cultural difference between the two groups of students studied for this report was in

their religious affiliation; and, as groups, they had the same mental and scholastic abilities (as measured by I. Q. scores and rank in high school class). Yet they differed, apparently significantly, in their college scholastic achievement. The importance of this finding is heightened when it is known that the college from which the data were drawn considers itself an institution of higher learning rather than an institution for denominational religious training. The college places no extra stress on religion and the majority of the faculty did not maintain active membership in the denomination controlling the college. Furthermore, so far as is known, the members of the faculty were largely unaware of the personal religious affiliations of the students, hence there could have been no conscious favoritism of the E. U. B. students. Still, the latter did better scholastically when compared with the non-E. U. B. students, particularly the Methodists (the religious group most like the E. U. B.), even when the two groups were equated on mental and social factors that might be associated with college success as measured by grades. The pervasive influence of culture on personality is thus clearly demonstrated in the limited situation described.

#### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The data for this study were gathered by the junior author; the idea and arrangements for the study, the analysis, write-up, and interpretations are the work of the senior author.
2. Although it was as long ago as 1933 that W. I. Thomas mapped out needed research "On the Organization of a Program in the Field of Personality and Culture," it has only been recently that real recognition has been given to the cultural determinants of personality. See Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray, with the collaboration of David M. Schneider, eds., *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954), pp. xvi-xvii.
3. Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century, Crofts, Inc., 1945), p. 1.
4. Some of the most significant of these have been collected in one volume by Kluckhohn and Murray, *op. cit.*
5. F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947), Chapter 5.
6. Raymond W. Hatch and Paul H. Landis, "Social Heritage as a Factor in College Achievement," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, 10:215-272, December, 1942. *The Education Index*, 1929-52, under the heading "Student Achievement," lists a number of studies dealing with the correlation between achievement and such cultural factors as socioeconomic status, housing, migration, home conditions, etc. However, none of these studies touch on the specific subject of the present study, and none of them are treated in terms of the theoretical framework of culture and personality.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
8. Indiana Central College, Indianapolis, Indiana.
9. George Lundberg, *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942), p. 70.
10. *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*, prepared by the U. S. Employment Service (Washington: U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1949).
11. It was impossible to control subject majors and minors and teachers. However, it is doubtful if these variables would have altered the results since the E. U. B. church is not an extremist sect in any sense (it is very similar to the Methodist Church in doctrine and practice), hence its student members would tend to be similar to a random sample of all Protestant students. This would mean that in general one could expect E. U. B. students to take the same type of courses as do other students.
12. To those who might object to drawing conclusions from samples this small, the usual answer can be given. Within limits, small but homogeneous samples facilitate the discovery of relationships that might be obscured by larger, less homogeneous samples. In addition, reputable statistical measures of significance are always functions of sample size as well as of other variables.
13. The data obtained by means of these techniques were used as the basis of a discussion of the "cultural familiarity" concept at the 1954 meetings of the American Sociological Society and for a research note in a subsequent *Midwest Sociologist* (17:43-6, Spring, 1955).
14. Critical ration: 1.39.
15. Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 71, quoting other writers.
16. C.R. 2.18 with a .262 difference between the means.
17. The final samples with forty-four in each group contained cases for which both I. Q. and high school rank were known. Thirty-one other matched cases were available for each group, but either the rank in high school class or the I. Q. was unknown for each of these cases. The mean grade point of the thirty-one E. U. B. cases was found not to differ significantly from the mean of the forty-four E. U. B. cases on which all data were available. The same situation was true of the non-E. U. B. group. In both instances, then, the thirty-one cases on which one item of information was available, making a total of seventy-one in each group.
18. C.R. 1.80 with a .130 difference between the means.

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## **THE EFFECTS OF SINGLE-SESSION EDUCATION TECHNIQUES ON PREJUDICE ATTITUDES**

**Herbert Greenberg, Jerome Pierson and Stanley Sherman**

Since the end of World War II much emphasis has been placed on the modification of prejudice attitudes. It has been felt that in order to make racial integration really work, more positive attitudes toward other races necessarily must be developed. For this reason much research has been done exploring the numerous techniques designed to achieve this goal.

Flowerman (7), de-emphasized the value and effectiveness of propaganda as a technique for reducing prejudice. He also agrees with the conception that techniques based on group structure and inter-personal relationships are the most effective, while Hayes and Conklin (4), report that intergroup attitudes can be improved through special types of teaching. The technique which was most effective was that of vicarious experience. Lesagi (9), in a study of the effects of a short course consisting of three lectures on the main principles of logical positivism and the imperfection of the human senses, found that there was an immediate effect on superstition, prejudices, and misconceptions, but the effects were found not to be long lasting. Horland and Weiss (5), found that communications by individual or from sources which were considered trustworthy by subjects were favored to be more effective in changing attitudes than were those considered untrustworthy, while Wieder (16), found that the use of group therapy procedures in free discussion was more effective than the traditional lecture methods in reducing prejudice attitudes. Wieder's findings are supported by Myers (11), who reports that liberal attitudes of a class in educational psychology became less liberal after ten hours of class lecture and assigned readings. Myers feels that this difference in results might have been due to greater honesty in reporting by the subject rather than reduced liberalism.

### **PURPOSE**

It is the purpose of this study to test several single-session educational techniques to determine the effectiveness of each in the changing of prejudice attitudes.

### **POPULATION**

Two hundred and ninety students from seven out of eight Introductory Psychology classes in the Fall semester, 1956, at Texas Technological College were employed for this study.

**PROCEDURE***Test-Battery:*

The California E-Scale was administered to the test population. Subjects were requested to leave no identifying marks on the scale administered, so as to increase honesty on the test. Four items were deleted from the original E-Scale due to the inapplicability of these items to the present population. The E-Scale as employed consisted of 30 statements to which the subjects responded by varying degrees of agreement or disagreement. The instructions given to the respondents were, "The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and other disagree. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement, as follows":

- |                               |                         |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| +1: slight support, agreement | —1: slight opposition   |
| +2: moderate support          | —2: moderate opposition |
| +3: strong support            | —3: strong opposition   |

An example of a statement is, "Manual labor and menial jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work."

**METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA**

The E-scale was administered to the test population by administrators. Four out of seven classes were chosen with regard to closeness each giving the same instructions to the group of mean scores to one another. The critical ratios were completed, which indicated no significant difference between the mean of the four chosen groups. Following this, the test variables were introduced.

One group (group A), was presented with a debate on the topic, "Resolved: The Decision of the United States Supreme Court Concerning Integration for the Public Schools Was Just and Proper." The second group (group B) was presented with a lecture by the senior author on, "The Dynamics of Prejudice," while the third group (group C) held a discussion employing "buzz-session" techniques on a similar topic. The fourth of these groups (group D) was employed as a control, and thus no work was done with it.

In the class period following the debates, lecture or discussion, the E-scale was administered again to these groups as well as to the control group.

**PROCEDURES IN TREATING DATA**

Means and standard deviations were found for each of the four groups and for each of the two administrations of each group.

As indicated earlier, the four groups initially had no statistical difference between the means. Critical ratios were found between the means of the first and second administrations for each of the four groups. The control group was used to eliminate the variable which might be caused by changes due to the retesting itself.

Critical ratios were then found between the first and the second test administration for each group, and between the test groups on the second administration.

#### RESULTS

Table I gives the means and standard deviations for the four test groups on the first and second administration.

TABLE I  
"MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON 1st AND 2nd  
ADMINISTRATION"

First Administration		S. D.	Second Administration	
Group	Mean		Mean	S. D.
A	102.05	24.70	102.70	24.51
B	130.6	31.35	106.4	32.16
C	102.50	27.9	98.85	32.19
D	103.10	25.77	103.62	27.69

Table 2 gives the critical ratios between the means of the groups. It can be seen from these tables that there is no significant change in means after the educational material has been presented. It can be seen further that the groups with similar means initially remained similar to each other in spite of the different educational methods presented. It should be noted that the widest difference and the largest critical ratio on the second testing appears between Group C, the group which held a discussion, and Group B, which received a lecture on the subject. Though the critical ratio falls far short of significance, the trend of difference both in terms of the two groups, and intra-group variation between the first and second administration, is in the direction of improved attitudes in Group C and making attitudes less desirable in group B. This will be discussed further in the next section.

TABLE II  
"CRITICAL RATIO BETWEEN MEANS OF THE GROUPS"

Intra-group Differences		Inter-group Differences	
Group A	.13	Groups A-D	.0125
Group B	.41	Groups B-D	.399
Group C	.631	Groups C-D	.73
Group D	.084	Groups A-B	.541
		Groups A-C	.619
		Groups B-C	1.100



## CONCLUSION:

Flowerman's feeling that techniques of propaganda have little value in reducing prejudiced attitudes appear to be born out by the findings of this study. It should be kept in mind, however, that this was a "single-shot attempt." There was only one lecture, not a series, one debate, and one discussion. Perhaps then it would be better to say that Flowerman's conclusions are born out at least so far as single efforts are concerned.

The findings of Wieder (15), that group therapy and discussion is more effective in changing attitudes than the traditional lecture method, is strengthened by the present trend of our findings. As indicated in the results section (p. 3, table 1) the changes that do occur, but that are not significant, are in the direction of improved attitudes on the part of the discussion and the same or slightly unimproving attitudes on the part of the discussion and the same or slightly unimproving attitudes on the group receiving the lecture.

Again the most notable finding is the lack of statistical change. Thus, the trend as discussed above must be very limited in our consideration. Further research is needed in use of the techniques over a longer time span; also further "single shot" research might be useful, especially with regard to the discussion technique.

The conflicting results found in the literature, which inconsistently have been added to by the present work appears to indicate that either proper techniques for attitude change have not as yet been developed, or that our techniques for measuring them have not been developed. In this case, much more must be done in this area.

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Dr. Greenberg was Assistant Professor at Texas Technological College in 1956-57. The co-authors were students in his classes at the time.

## **CULTURE LAG AND HOUSEWIFEMANSHIP: THE ROLE OF THE MARRIED FEMALE COLLEGE GRADUATE**

**Norman Kiell and Bernice Friedman**

The American married female college graduate is all dressed up and has no place to go. She feels she must have a purpose in life and yet cannot understand why she must have this purpose. It is not enough for her that she has "a wonderful husband, two lovely children, a nice home." She is not looking for something to replace her home and family; but rather she feels that her greatest contentment will come from her home once she has this purpose, this goal, this thing, whatever it is. The most troubling part about her problem is the difficulty in defining for herself what she wants. She has a great sense of urgency and at the same time a feeling of frustration and helplessness.

There is a tremendous urge to be creative; but how, the question is argued, can you be creative in a kitchen? Many women gain much satisfaction from such activity but still need their creativity expressed in other areas as well. Housework is intellectually unexciting for it provides little sense of challenge and accomplishment. The college graduate can organize or delegate it with sufficient acumen so that she does not invest in it enough energy to get a sense of achievement (1). Recent studies show that for middle-class-married women, housework averages less than thirty hours per week (7); and if she employs help, as many college graduate women do, she is almost idle and pays for her leisure with boredom. What gives real pleasure and sense of accomplishment in life is the joy in a completed job well done. This never, or rarely, happens in a housewife's life. Domestic work, according to De Beauvoir, has a negative basis. "Cleaning is getting rid of dirt, tidying is eliminating disorder, . . . an endless struggle without victory over the dirt . . . few tasks are more like the tortures of Sisyphus with its endless repetition; the clean becomes soiled, the soiled is made clean, over and over, day after day (7)." Although most women would not go so far as to call housework "torture" there are few who actually claim to enjoy it and a very great many who are constantly aware of the dullness inherent in its endlessness. The satisfaction in a clean house becomes fleeting with the realization that within a few days, or even hours, it will no longer be clean.

This routine seems to be so taken for granted that the college graduate experiences a lack of appreciative response and prestige with

little sense of achievement in her daily life. To add to her frustration she is challenged by an intellectual hunger which her daily activities alone cannot fully satisfy. A common complaint of the homemaker (31) is not that the work is too hard but that it is too confining, and too lonesome; she wants to be with adults, enjoy the stimulation of adult, not only child, talk; in short, to have more contact with her peer group, rather than the almost exclusive association with her children. This need for adult communication is coupled with the fear that when the children are grown and there is time for the realization of her aspirations, her intellectual ambitions may have withered; and so she currently worries about intellectual stagnation. The fear exists that with approaching middle years the discontent and purposelessness will still persist but the energy and drive "to do something" will be dissipated.

This problem is not an isolated phenomenon. Its magnitude is increasing in almost geometric progression as longevity for women extends. The spate of literature dealing with this theme which is currently appearing in the slick paper magazines (3, 4, 6, 26, 30, 31, 36, 38, 41), in the daily newspapers (2, 8, 11, 24), in professional journals (1, 5, 19, 20, 21, 22, 39), as round table discussion topics on radio and television and even entire books (7, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 25, 27, 28, 29, 34, 35) bears evidence of the pressure under which the homemaker is laboring.

In 1953, the American Council on Education established a commission to "explore the current and long-range needs of women as a result of the impact of changing social conditions upon them and to encourage the development of new and more effective educational programs to meet these needs (21)." According to the 1956 U. S. Census Report there are twenty-two million working women, half of whom are married. Of these, two and a half million have pre-school children and six and a half million have children in school. The figures of the National Manpower Commission Report (12) state that two out of every five married women with school age children worked in 1956; in 1940, one out of every ten married women with school age children worked.

With specific reference to the problem at hand, in 1950 there were 2,257,755 women in the country who had completed four years of college. The increasing magnitude of the problem is further seen in the number of women who graduated from college in 1950—103,217, whereas the total enrollment of women in 1955 was 887,708. Female students in 1954-56 constituted 34 per cent of the total enrollment in higher education (22). Of the total graduates, 42 per cent are housewives, 19 per cent working wives, 31 per cent career women either

single, widowed or divorced, and 8 per cent "others" (15). Particularly relevant to this study is the fact that 56 per cent of the college graduates who are housewives are between the ages of 30 and 39. This is the population which faces the personal crisis originally postulated, for these are the years during which the college educated mother ultimately comes to grips with a three pronged aspect of her life role. First, there is the completion of the care of the younger generation and the fitting of them for their independence; second, the recognition of her own potential in terms of achievement and satisfactions; and third, preparedness for her own later years (8).

One of the great problems of the educated woman is her inability to decide what kind of person she wants to be (35). As Lynes sees it (23), woman's problems arise out of her "need" to be and do everything in a world where all sex distinctions except the physiological are vanishing. Kluckhohn goes so far as to predict that as long as America persists in its high evaluation of action and individualism, women will strive for full participation in the spheres of activity which best express them (17). But we are living in a transitional stage of civilization. The paradox lies in our culture which, on the one hand, says that the true function of woman is marriage and motherhood, and on the other hand, educates her to do everything that man can do; yet it gives little status to the former and does not permit the latter. The traditional role of woman is culturally learned (21). Home and marriage have worked toward the exclusion of most other values for the American woman. As one of the characters in *The Professor's Umbrella* remarks, "A woman never chooses not to marry (40)." Yet when she achieves the marital role this does not give her the satisfaction the culture says it should.

This was not always the case. There are culturally historical reasons why marriage was considered the end-all and be-all of feminine existence. "On the (American) frontier and in most immigrant groups women were scarce and had scarcity value. . . . Today we are no longer living on the frontier. . . . There are actually more women than men. . . . Yet we are living a new version of the old frontier pattern. . . . American woman is still on a pedestal, long after the conditions which placed her there have vanished (26)."

Woman's role fifty years ago was pretty well defined and established. She had definite obligations; she had definite responsibilities. After marriage she had little alternative as to her way of life. It was not only expected but desired that she continue in the manner of mother and grandmother before her.

Today, with the increased number of women attending institutions of higher learning, and with the "removal" of the bars to

substantially all occupational and professional fields, the college woman goes forth into a far different world convinced of horizons unlimited. This may be true if she remains single. Should she marry and have a family, however, her choice is not much wider than that of her frontier forbear. The unlimited horizons are transmuted into frustration for she has glimpsed vistas of achievement and aspiration only to have them vanish and be replaced by the narrow routine described by deBeauvoir. The problem is particularly acute for the college woman because her active discontent results from her ability to conceive of a better alternative to her present condition and from her inability to realize such a better alternative.

She attempts many alternatives, but are they better? They do not, seemingly, give her the fulfillment she is seeking. She will become an active church committeewoman, attend donor luncheons, sell benefit theater tickets, putter in pottery, take an adult education course, do volunteer charity work, almost anything to provide some ego satisfaction or to justify her existence. But, rather than quelling restiveness and dissatisfaction such activity tends to intensify the problem. She needs to be useful. Such "do-good" activity merely provides a temporary expedient to stop-gap some leisure hours. Her usefulness is for her a hollow gesture because this is not what she really wants.

Yet can she achieve this indefinable self-actualization without sacrificing her dual role of wife and mother? Our present culture demands a great deal of wife-husband, mother-child companionship. But the college educated woman has a real feeling of guilt and conflict regarding her proper role (18). If our culture allows woman to be educated like man but still teaches us to prefer marriage for women to any other way of life, and then goes on to indoctrinate us thoroughly that "being a housewife is a fate and not a call (19)," then her need to compromise her education with her "fate" requires considerable adjustment.

The accelerating social changes have had a particularly disrupting effect on their adjustment because it destroyed the traditional basis for their self-respect and the sense of their own value to society. "The home itself, the center of (women's) deepest emotional satisfactions lost not only its economic value but most of the educational and recreational ones she had supervised. Worst of all, the men . . . began in effect to patronize women. Women were pets, housekeepers, sometime companions, mistresses, biological mechanisms to produce a child or two. But, except where the older patterns persisted, they were no longer important in their own right (6)."

This was felt all the more intensely because upon graduation



from college and prior to marriage she had enjoyed the excitement of almost exclusively adult relationship, the gratification of intellect and a sense of personal worth and prestige. Now, she finds that the culture has failed her. Motherhood is the goal of feminine existence, but being a mother means adjusting to quite different values than what the culture dictated. The rewards of housewifemanship are frustration and lowered self-esteem. Plowed under was the healthy self-concept she had before marriage.

The ambivalent societal attitude adds to her grief. Is the test of a woman making her mark doing something we normally think of as a man's job? Or do women continue to make their mark in their own way in a field in which men can not preempt or compete with them? "As Erich Fromm has said, 'When a positive gain of a culture begins to fail, then restlessness comes until a new satisfaction is found.' Our problem with women today is not simply that they are caught in a patriarchal culture, but that they are living in a culture in which the positive gains for them are failing (37)."

In a period of cultural transition during which the stable values begin to shift and take on a different significance, how does the housewife accomodate herself? Neither her college education nor her work experience equipped her to cope with this question. She is college-bred and college-broadened, but not actually college-trained. In her younger years, she felt it worthwhile enough to go to college for its own sake, and without any specific vocational goal. The years since have confirmed her belief that living is more rewarding and meaningful because of the intangible 'values' and 'horizons' gleaned in college (20). But at the same time she regrets that, being certain that what she 'really wanted' was marriage and family, she did not prepare herself for professional work outside her home. It *was* what she really wanted, and it would have been hard for her as a co-ed to foresee that after the first years of wife-and-motherhood, this very college experience would point up and intensify a lack in her life. In short, she is glad for her college education but she wishes she had planned it more wisely.

Her liberal arts degree has made her more knowledgeable in a variety of fields but with not enough to make her feel secure. So it is with her married life. As a housewife she is required to carry on a number of diverse tasks and play a variety of roles. But with neither the training nor the incentive, she does not feel secure nor does she have a sense of fulfillment from a job expertly done. Nearly twenty years ago Prescott wrote, "... the major occupation of women, home-making, is sadly neglected. To be sure, there are fine departments of domestic arts in many secondary schools and colleges, but these reach

a relatively small number of the women who are to be wives and mothers. The vast majority of American women are faced with undertaking an occupation of extraordinary complexity, requiring for effective service a tremendous amount of specialized knowledge and many deep insights. The planning of the family diet, the care of all the material things that make up a home, including clothing, and discriminating purchase of a great variety of things, the maintenance of family health, preparation for motherhood, the early training of children, the development of the social life of the family—all these are the tasks faced at some time during life by nearly all women. Yet for all girls and young women, except those few who take a specialized course now largely lacking in prestige the curricula offered by schools and colleges are blandly silent about these future tasks and obligations. Formerly, this training was passed on from mother to daughter. This is no longer true (32)."

The co-ed intuitively recognizes the sagacity of the foregoing but she is reluctant to give up—and she does not give up—her dream of an emancipated education and career for what she considers the temporary needs of the homemaker role. She had, seemingly, deliberately selected her academic curriculum to prepare herself for the future she had envisaged. Surveys of college seniors reveal that money is a secondary life aim. The primary goal is to enjoy life. Small wonder then, that the co-ed does not regret her liberal arts background, for in a world in which fun is obligatory (42), the smattering of knowledge which she has acquired gives her play an intellectual aura. This goes beyond the undergraduate level, for, as the Radcliffe study shows, even PhD training is largely unregretted by women; they feel all vital experiences contribute to a sense of personal growth and are valuable (13).

So she has her Keats and Sartre, she has the Lynds and Havlock Ellis, the French Revolution and Biology 2, her Brahms and Botticelli. While her college education has left her, perhaps, a cultured housewife and mother, able to open more doors for her children, it still leaves her without direction for herself and often with little sense of status. Caught as she is in a situation dictated by the culture and needing this illusive fulfillment, she attempts to recapture stable values of the pioneer past. The prestige of large families is a re-occurring phenomenon of this generation. Greater living room is manifested by the move to the suburbs and exurbs, where the children can play unfettered by the curbstone. There is a return to the tradition of home-canning, or today, the home freezing of foods. Substituted for the hearty repast of the country kitchen is the developing cult of

gourmet cooking and the fetish of herbery. The TV set has become the mid-twentieth century taffy pull.

The search for direction, status and fulfillment goes on. It would seem we had reached the fork in the road. One path would lead us to accept the implications of motherhood as a stable cultural value to be established as a national value structure, intensively indoctrinated in the home, at school and at play (15). The end of this road might see the liberty and emancipation that the American mother enjoys today severely delimited and therefore opposed, at least by the great majority of college educated mothers.

The other fork in the road might lead us to the 'logical' conclusion that a communal type of society such as exists in the Israeli *kibbutz* is a solution. There is a strong historical background in this country for this method of coping. The kindergarten movement of the late nineteenth century, the present pre-nursery schools, the pooling of neighborhood children in own-home play sessions which release mothers from caring for their tots four of five work days, and the urban day care centers for children of working mothers, are perhaps preludes to a modified, indigenous, American, communal-type activity.

Neither path may lead us down the glory road. The destination, perhaps, is reached by a fusion of the two. Woman does not have to give up the role of housewife and mother in order to realize other aspirations; nor is the opposite true. The college educated mother knows this; our culture will catch up with this knowledge.

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## BOOK REVIEW

*Field Projects and Problems in Educational Sociology and Social Foundations of Education.* By Celia B. Stendler, N. Y., Dryden Press, 1956. \$2.00.

Dr. Celia B. Stendler has prepared a manual which merits wide distribution or which, at least, should result in considerable idea "borrowing" in courses in educational sociology and the social foundations of education. Into fourteen units Dr. Stendler has packed a variety of problems, cases, and projects, along with some helpful editorial introductions, to aid the student in understanding a number of basic sociological principles and their implications for education.

From an exercise contrasting the cultures of American and Samoan societies, the author proceeds to exercises illustrating the cultural values and behaviors encouraged by American schools, then narrows the focus to enable the student to study the role behaviors of specific children as compared with the role expectations of and for the children. The student is then led to observe not only how the school reflects the culture of the community, but also how the school constitutes a separate social system with its own subculture.

Among the many thought-provoking and insight-producing exercises worth examining are those on the American value structure and the schools, attitudes toward property and honesty, social stratification in the community, problems in intergroup education, delinquency and the schools, the social functions of the school in a period of rapid social change, sociological implications of classroom methods, pressures and attacks upon the schools, and the teacher as a professional person.

Because of the general attractiveness of the manual, the reviewer raises with reluctance a few questions about the work. How much understanding of the potentialities—and limitations—of role playing is likely to be provided by the very brief section on it in the manual? For the methodologically-naïve student (and there are many such), how meaningful are those exercises likely to be which suggest interviewing of people in the community, with no effective suggestion of the possible use of control groups, of the problems of sampling or of interviewer bias? Might some funnel-type questions, for example, have been provided in the place of or in addition to questions such as those of the "category of person interviewed" and interviewee's "Response" types?

Despite the questions raised above, the manual, if used effectively, should help considerably in increasing the sensitivity of students to the problems and resources of the community at large, the relations of the community to the school, and the potential positive and negative influences of the school as a social institution.

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